157 /152 cont./

562 Bunga bunga takkakkasakku — My implanted, straight flowers,

539 Tjampaga takkakkasakku — My blooming tjampaga flowers.

Natjiniku ianu — When N. N. sees me

Nadjandjangku mole mole. — He will not be able to turn his eyes away from me.

834 157 To be man-crazy (lale) is one of the worst qualities that a girl can have; it is said of one who, by her behavior, seems to want to attract the attention of a man to herself.

157 182 The above-mentioned qualities that are most prized in men are at the same time those which they need for success in striving to rise, as demonstrated in the opposition phenomenon.

554 Not all men, and even less all women, possess the qualities named to an equally great degree. This influences their position in the community. Those who possess these qualities only to a small degree are poorly equipped to achieve standing in this community.

Homosexuality

838 The Makassarese divide people, as they say, into men, women, and kawe kawe (1). In reproducing the data, it will

[177 192]

1. Dutch influence is observable in the Indonesian term which is occasionally used by modern Makassarese: "seorang het, " /"an 'it' person. " -- Ed./.

838 /152 cont./ become apparent that it is not altogether correct to translate the term kawe kawe by homosexual. Lack of a better one led me to use this translation for the time being.

The distinction connotes that homosexuality is accepted as abnormal, but nonetheless as an existing phenomenon just like an albino or a deaf-mute. In 1949 there were no men living in the kampong Bontoramba who were regarded as kawe kawe. In all of Borongloë (around 14, 000 inhabitants), there may have been five. Compared with other adat communities, this number will probably /153/ seem small. The reason for this is that the adat community head to whom, as a believing Moslem, these kawe kawe were already a thorn in the side anyway had threatened to cut off the hair of each one (some of them wore their hair down to their shoulders) because one of them had made a young girl pregnant. As a result many of the kawe kawe left Borongloë. Only a few stayed. I was repeatedly able to observe one of them. Here follows a brief description of his outward appearance and behavior. His name was Taking.

Taking was thirty-five years old and lived with a married brother. They were a poor household, but only when it was completely necessary did Taking work in the sawah. Usually and by preference he would spend his time in the back part of the house with the women. In his manner of sitting and speaking and in clothing he was scarcely distinguishedable from them. At the kin-group festivals in the house of the adat community head, he worked hard in the kitchen, helping with preparations. On such occasions he frequently did the unpleasant work of keeping the strongly smoking fire going, work which generally is performed by lower women. At the ritual at the climax of the festival, however, he was, along with a number of older women, relatives of the head, the one who participated in its arrangement. Both the kitchen work and the conduct of the ritual were in the hands of women at

838 /153 cont./ this festival. Lower women performed the first [554] task, higher ones the latter. Taking participated in both.

Outside the house he behaved like a man. He would go [40] on his way without escort, but whenever he was carrying something at the same time, he would do so by preference on his head (like a woman) and not on a yoke over his shoulders (like a man). When called upon as a witness in a legal case, however, he appeared completely in man's clothing with a black cap (topi), and upon that occasion had some good-natured fun poked at him. In everyday life, his presence in the women's group was accepted as a matter of course. According to my information, this dated from his childhood years. I was able to observe a little boy called Jusu at the age of about seven years. This is the age at which a difference starts to arise between boys' and girls' games.

Jusu by preference played with the girls of his own age. [857] The latter permitted this without poking fun at him. A high noblewoman took him into her house and into her following. /154/ He would go with a couple of her nieces his age to pay visits and attend festivals. The acceptance of a kawe kawe into the women's group from his childhood years on explains the naturalness with which he is treated.

Details concerning Taking's sexual life could not be obtained. It was believed that he desired no contact with women. Concerning his relationship with other men only jokes were made. His reaction at the mention of anal coitus was one of decided aversion, and at the mention of mutual masturbation his reaction was neutral.

In addition to the commonly occurring kawe kawe, I once observed a woman in the adat community of Takalar who did not feel at home with those of her own sex. She wore her hair like a woman, but her sarong like a man. She preferred to work in the sawah with the patjol /hoe/ (typically male work). She carried burdens on a yoke over her shoulders the way a man does, and she would go alone to pasars and

838 /154 cont./ on roads. Her kinsmen accepted these transgressions of the sex prohibitions without further ado. Apparently they did not think of the forbidden contact situation in which she found herself.

838 793 644 From a description by Matthes, it appears (1) that in his

1. B.F. Matthes, Over de Bissoe's of Heidense Priesters der Boegineezen /Concerning the Bissu or Heathen Priests of the Buginese/.

time (around 1870) a number of bissu lived at several courts of the princes. These were men who dressed and behaved partly like women. They took care of the ornaments and performed the ritual belonging to them. One old bissu, a senile man, who was only charged with guarding the ornaments [178] still lived in the palace of the Prince of Goa in 1939. At that time women were already performing the ritual. In 1949, he seemed to have died. The guarding services had then also passed into the hands of the women.

178 838 644 The disappearance of the bissu at the courts could, among other things, be a consequence of the dawning realization that, according to Moslem law, homosexuality is prohibited. The reason that they had disappeared as much as a generation ago at one court and, at the other court, continued to exist until recently could possibly be found in the differences in strictness of religious ideas held by various princes.

838 793 /155/ Only in the little place of Segeri, 75 kilometers north of Macassar, can a number of bissu still be found to this day. There they take care of the ornament and perform the ritual pertaining to it. A number of them are married and live in their own house with wife and children. They dress

838 793 /155 cont./ and behave in everyday life completely like normal men. At the performance of the ritual, however, their dress and behavior is half-male and half-female, like that of other bissu. The latter, the unmarried ones, live together in the ornament house.

In 1948 the then assistant to the government linguist for South Celebes supplied me information which might clarify why kawe kawe prefer to occupy themselves with the ornament ritual. According to the description of the ritual, performed at the inauguration of the new head of the bissu (Puang Matoa), one of them leads the new head to the ornament of Segeri, a plow, and at this point he makes an announcement the significance of which the assistant reproduced as follows: "It is neither known of the person who is here brought to the sacred object and who touches it, nor of the object, who is the man and who the woman. If the sacred object is a man, then this person is a woman, and vice versa" (1).

1. The Buginese original of this announcement could not be obtained.

From this it would appear that it is believed that the ornament and the head of the bissu must be of different sex, that the sex of the ornament is unknown, and that, therefore, only a person who can be either man or woman can be the head of the bissu. The general occurrence of this, albeit merely vaguely conscious, belief could explain the attraction [554] of the kawe kawe to the ornaments. There they found a social recognition which they lacked elsewhere.

838 Dr. Slot, who has examined a number of these bissu for their physical characteristics, reports that their sexual organs were completely normal; there was no question of hermaphroditism. A number of secondary sex characteristics can be called feminine. Among these he reports a hyperextendability of the elbow, little muscular development, and broad hips (2).

● 838 /155 cont./ 2. J. A. Slot: see Geneeskundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië, Vol. 75, pp. 811 ff.

838 548 Kawe kawe can be encountered in Macassar and in the large pasar places of /156/ South Celebes as male prostitutes who make themselves available in exchange for money for the performance of sexual acts. In some cases it appeared that these were young men who in their own kampong in the interior had a position analagous to that of Taking. They elected to live in a large place without their kinsmen rather than in their kampongs, where their activities are, as it were, constantly controlled and their sexual needs satisfied with greater difficulty.

[178] It may be assumed that the individuals who, in earlier times, showed homosexual tendencies and then found a place as bissu at the royal courts now populate the marketplaces as male prostitutes.

535 857 In this section on homosexuality, the Masri dance needs to be mentioned. The dancers are little boys from eight to twelve years of age. They dance in the simplest manner by tripping back and forth in a circle on a small surface and at the same time moving their hands and arms back and forth to the beat of the music. In so doing they do not strive for [534] any particular ideal of technique or beauty. A drum (rabana) and possibly a violin accompanies them. At the same time [533] they sing the little four-line verses (kelong) which are customary between young men and women. In this dance they are to a certain extent disguised. Around the head they have folded [838] a white cloth which likewise partly covers the face, thus a [832] kind of veil. The sexual stimulation which proceeds from the combination of verse, rhythm, and the little boys half-disguised as women, is the main thing.

177 535 838 The dance seems to have become known in South Celebes around 1928, and at that time it seems to have attained a

177 /156 cont./ sudden great popularity (1). The onlookers, men,
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1. So great was the interest in this dance that teachers complained about the sleepiness of their pupils during the day in school (report by the ex-teacher Noeroeddin to Dr. A. A. Cense).

according to reports principally married men, showed their enthusiasm by stuffing money in large sums down the necks [648] of the little dancers. After some time the dance was prohibited by the administration. Only after the capitulation of the Dutch East Indies in 1942, have Masri representations been given again.

171 The name of the dance probably betrays the land of
174 origin /157/ (1). Lane (2) first gives a description of a dance

1. I am indebted for this suggestion to Professor Dr. G. F. Pijper.

2. E. W. Lane, The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, London and New York, 1908, p. 389.

by women who at the same time are prostitutes, and then reports that the only thing which is really disapproved in it is the fact that women perform this dance. Consequently, men may also take the place of women as performers of this dance. They are usually young men, accompanied by the rabab. They represent women, but in order to prevent people from

171 /157 cont./ thinking that they are really women, they are
174 dressed half as man and half as woman. Their general exterior is more feminine than masculine. They imitate women in the use of make-up, they wear their hair like women, and veil themselves.

So much for the account given by Lane. The correspondence with the Masri dance described above seems clear. However, why this dance spread to South Celebes just around 1928 remains obscure.

121 The data given above invite a number of observations.
●838 As a starting point, I want to take the conclusions of Kinsey and his associates concerning homosexuality. They call the "homosexual" an important subelement of sexual activity, "primarily because it is an expression of capacities that are basic in the human animal" (3).

3. Kinsey, Pomeroy, and Martin, Sexual Behavior in the Human Male, Philadelphia and London, 1948, p. 666.

Furthermore, I want to make use of the proposition established by Margaret Mead (4). She speaks of the social

4. M. Mead, Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies, London, 1935. See among others, pp. XX ff.

personalities of the two sexes, to which men and women in a certain culture are reared to conform, with more or less success. Among other things, she points to the fact that not all men possess to an equal degree the qualities which are

121 /157 cont./ demanded of them in a certain culture, and that
●838 therefore there are among them those "who have voluntarily given up the struggle to conform to the masculine role and who wore female attire and followed the occupations of a woman."

It appears that in Makassarese society a number of male
838 individuals at an early age turn away from those of their own sex and attach themselves to the girls. They adapt themselves to these /158/ in clothing and behavior. The older ones accept the fact that they are different from other boys. When they get older, they continue in their attitude. This entails certain consequences with respect to their sexual life.

Sexual contact with their female peers is regarded as out of the question. A kawe kawe is accepted as a matter of course into the group of women. If a kawe kawe comes from outside and is not yet known, then the men and old women at first watch him carefully, so I was told. In case of sexual contact with a woman, the kawe kawe is, among other things, threatened with expulsion from the group of women. Consequently, he would have to spend his time regularly in the group of men where he does not feel at home emotionally. It is possible that this fact restrains him from attempting sexual contacts with one of the women. To satisfy his sexual needs, he is therefore dependent on men.

I am not acquainted with any cases of men who became kawe kawe after they had passed puberty. The social separation of the sexes at that time may already be too great for the transition to be regarded as still possible.

838 One does find the phenomenon that men at the courts
793 partly dress and behave like women, in an institutionalized
644 way, for the ornament ritual. The possibility of the kawe kawe to be both man as well as woman -- in social life --, is here an imperative.

A kawe kawe tied to this institution is called a bissu. Even a "normal" married man seems to be capable of being

838
793/158 cont./ a bissu as long as he merely conducts himself
644 half as a man and half as a woman during the ritual.

The bissu institution gave a number of kawe kawe the opportunity of acquiring a social standing which they never would have acquired if they had remained in their own kampong.

178 The kawe kawe did not disappear with the disappearance
838 of the bissu institution, however, At present, insofar as they
548 did not remain in their kampongs like Taking, they live as prostitutes in the marketplaces. However, in their kampongs the opportunity for sexual satisfaction is extremely restricted because contact with women is practically out of the question and contact with male relatives or kampong fellows is disapproved. This would easily make the migration to the
[839] pasar places comprehensible. Mutual masturbation seems to be the customary method of satisfying sexual needs.

/159/ The accentuated masculine personality idea leads
838 a number of boys to attach themselves socially to girls and women. The strict sanctions concerning contact with women force these men, once they have been accepted into the group of the women, to turn to their own sex for sexual satisfaction.

Unmarried People

114 In a discussion of the position of unmarried men and
589 women in kampong Bontoramba, it must first be indicated
885 who is included in this term. Widowers, widows, and divorced men and women are for the time being left out of consideration. For the census of 1930 the rule was adopted "that adulthood in the case of girls begins with marriageability, and in the case of boys with the ability to work" (1). Just a little further

1. Volkstelling 1930, Part 5, p. 54.

585 788 [114] /178 cont./ van Wetenschappen, Afd/eeling/ Letterkunde, N/ieuwe/ R/eeks/ /New Series/, Vol. I, no. 8, pp. 52 ff.

precede the dressing of bride and groom when they are still in the houses of their respective parents, and it takes place when they are bathed together for the first time.

585 [593] The person who performs this ritual is frequently the "bride's mother, " (anrong bunting) (2). The special appasili

[602 838] 2. The "bride's mother" may also be a man. In that case he helps the bridegroom. Kawe kawe likewise perform this job.

[342] at the construction of the chief pole of the pannjambungi is performed, however, by the person who is charged with its erection, a man who is an expert at housebuilding (panrita balla'). The appasili of the vessels is usually performed by one of the prominent older women.

585 824 [801] The bottle of leafy twigs consists preferably of seven different kinds. These are usually the same kinds, but sometimes variations are introduced. The names of the leaves of one particular bundle were: 1. buagang, 2. palidi, 3. parempasa', 4, loë, 5. leko sirih, 6. riu, 7. pattene. The first four names all indicate defense (1), the last two have

585 824 789 1. These names are rapidly recited, one after the other, when they are used as a spell. They are also reported thus by Matthes. Compare B. F. Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 223:

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833
838

/242 cont./ Among the men who possess to a low degree the qualities established as a norm for them, there are to be found the "kawe kawe," the unmarried men, the married men who refuse to have sexual intercourse with their wives, and possibly the koro patients. It is impossible for me to indicate the boundary between a lack of the qualities demanded by the culture and a supposed lack.

156
[548]

Among the women who possess the qualities ascribed to them to a small degree, one finds the prostitutes and also matrons and bride's mothers, and those who perform the ancestral ritual, all of whom owe their standing to their work, which serves to raise the standing of the community. Among these there are also the princesses, who in these countries frequently played a dominant role. Among females in this [562] position there is none of the docility left, which is expected in women.

/248/ Appendix

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Figures drawn from registers constitute a welcome addition to the data that could not have been obtained otherwise, or only with great difficulty through verbal information. However, in making use of register material, there is a danger that the degree of its reliability will not be sufficiently realized.

Data based on registers always make a precise impression. The collector is inclined to believe in their reliability himself. But the reliability can only be judged through an acquaintance with the culture in which they are used. A number of "mistakes" in the registers can be immediately understood as a result of ideas present in that culture. They raise the demand for care in the comparison of figures with other regions.

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar
OG6

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Bissu of Segeri during their dance, in which they are in a trance and attempt to press a kris into the body. Pages 208-209.
(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[cent plate 10]

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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Bissu of Segeri during the plowing ritual on the ornament sawah. In the photograph, the bissu are recognizable by the fact that they wear glasses. Pages 101 and 208-209.

(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 11]

Bali OF7
Javanese OE5
Buru OH8
Halmahera OH12
Makassar OG6

[565 cont.]

ceremonies, make their will known to the people and are to be regarded as relics of the ancient Polynesian cult. Their name is walian. In addition, as a designation for shamans on Bali, there is also the word wewalen, which came from wewalian = walian with reduplication. The contraction of ia to e is very common in Javanese as well as in the related languages, for example, durian = duren.

The difference between walian and wewalen is that the former word has a more general meaning. They are the actual mediums, whereas the wewalen are more the co-workers who perform the functions of doctors and doctresses.

Besides the walian and wewalen, there are also the sangyang, who likewise are shamans. They are usually small boys or girls and, like the former, are [566] put in a state of ecstasy by artificial means, such as incense, music, and not infrequently arrack, in order to serve the gods as mediums. The name sangijang literally means "spirit, god," hence, the being that possesses. Only later was this name carried over for the person who is possessed. Another people should be mentioned here, namely, the Bisayans of the Philippines; among them, too, there are priestesses, balian, who apparently are shamans.

Furthermore, shamanism plays an important role in the religion of the Alfoer of Buru and Halmahera.

It is not only among the pagan tribes, however, that shamanism is found. It also occurs among the more highly developed peoples who have already embraced Islam. First, we name the Buginese and Makassarese. Among them there is a class of persons, men as well as women, who profess to be able to be possessed by spirits and are therefore consulted primarily as doctors and doctresses. These shamans are called bissu. The bissu greatly resemble the basir among the Dajak; like the latter, they also dress as women. Dr. Matthes doubts very much, however, that they surrender themselves to pederasty like the basir. To be sure, the male bissu maintain that they are incapable of

M 175 565 tumilalang toa. Orders of the radja to the people at large go through the tumilalang toa, and requests of the people to the radja go through the tumilalang lolo.]

[114] The forty arong, as Friedericy wrote about them, seem to be silly; for example, the rope twisters. But he wrote about the ruination of a formerly great and important system. A real survival, perhaps. Now they no longer exist. As of 1905, however, they were still there in form and name. Formerly they were officials of great importance, each in charge of an important function of state, and of many men. For example, one had to get rowers for the large war praus, another had to see that rope (then very important) was provided, another was in charge of the mountain areas, another got dancers, and so forth. Friedericy wrote of the last weird phase, when the old rope official, for example, sat in the palace twisting a piece of rope pathetically. This certainly was a survival of former grandeur.

M 793 ●838 231 881 304 594 I asked about the bissu [pagan priests, priestesses] and their link with the gaokang [ornaments or regalia, possession of which gives ruling power to Makassarese nobles. --Analyst] This checks, but, as Friedericy says, there are no longer any bi-sexual ones in Goa. There are male keepers, called pinati. But they still exist for example in Segeri, and Rahim was there for a big circumcision feast last week (why did I miss it?), and the homosexuals were there. It was evidently a mass affair, and Rahim said there was dancing, buffalo sacrifice, and boys expecting to be circumcised sitting on buffaloes which were to be slaughtered. (Could there be here a fine case of circumcision as a survival of blood sacrifice of humans?)

M 182 771 Rahim told me much about the history of Goa, and how the Dutch deliberately undermined the old custom law. I reminded him that Mohammedanism did this too, and he agreed. But, he said, Mohammedanism generally works along with the adat, and if an adat matter comes up at any point the Mohammedan religious phase is subordinated. Thus, if a radja is officiating at some big occasion the mosque may be nearly empty.

I 181 Rahim said something which was remarkably like my own idea. He said Celebes (and he meant South Celebes) is the adat part of Indonesia, par excellence. He said that you could make the following grouping:

Java - politics
Sumatra - religion
Borneo - trade and business
Celebes - adat

These are the preoccupations, and the Dutch, in order to rule

these areas, must pay attention to each of these preoccupations in each of the respective areas. If they are tampered with too much, they may cause revolution. And here we can see why, if Sukawati, the President of East Indonesia today, comes there is no excitement; but if the radja, representing adat, arrives there is much excitement. So I was right in thinking of calling the South Celebes section of my work "the adat land." I 181

Regarding history, Rahim said that there is much material to be found in the lontar [old manuscript; from lontar or tala tree whose leaves were used for writing--Analyst]. He added that there was considerable material there on homo-sexual relations. He believes that it came from India. I said that it was probably from the same base, but that it was also probably here earlier. M 175 838 ● 212

In talking about adat, Rahim said that Goa is plenty adat conscious though he agreed that perhaps Wadjo was purer. C 181

I asked about property. Anyone who is an Indonesian can buy land. And it is private. However, the radja has the right of eminent domain, and thus the land is tax liable. But this goes for everywhere. M 421 651

We also talked about the old days which Rahim's father remembered and which Rahim saw the last of. Thus the old market, in the center of the kampong and now in disuse, was formerly (say fifty years ago) a tremendous place. Praus from all over came up the river including those belonging to Chinese. And there were dancers (padjoge) and shows. Today there is a daily market (pasar) at Djongaya. Sungguminasa has a pasar two times a week. Rahim said that he thought most areas in this district had a five-day pasar week. I asked if maybe the trend toward large sized towns, better transportation, and modernization might not lead to a daily pasar instead of the rearrangement. Thus Makassar which was perhaps once a part of a ring, as it gradually became bigger and bigger, was now developing into one steady, daily pasar. This may have happened also with Djongaya. Sungguminasa, which is near Makassar, is half way, being a bit further off. He seemed to think that this was at least a possible idea. M 173 443 366

We got on to classes, but I got nothing new, except for some details regarding marriage. I questioned if it were true that a lower man, for example, the descendent of a slave, could not marry a higher woman, but that the marriage in reverse was possible. A big business man who came there in a European blue shirt, fat and keen, said sure, anything went now. But an old man present, with a stringy beard, said no, no, impossible. It was taboo before and it is now. He added that M 565 582 114 829

000R oman, Makassarese, and Arabic. He[1] knew of Latowa and
[538] La-Galigo [South Celebes epics]. I read much about the
565 classes from my notes and found that evidently Friedericy
114 is all right. He calls ana tjera, turunan radja, and there
567 are some in the kampong. He calls ana karaeng sala, bangsawan, and there are some in the kampong. In the maradeka class, tau badji, to which he says he belongs, are ones with even a drop of noble blood in them. They are descendants of nobles, but somewhat lower. It is very clear that there are two kinds of slaves. He said that slaves even look different. But he added their women are often prettier than descendants of royalty. Then he said that royal women, however, have a special look in their eyes. He agreed that keeping out of the sun, not walking, eating better food, etc. might cause much of the difference. However, he kept on saying that he could tell the difference. I asked about the women on horses and cushions who were never supposed to touch the ground. He said that formerly that was the way it was here, as it now is, for example, in Wadjo. He added that the Arumpone from Goa who was put in Bone by the Dutch in 1931 lived in a big house in the kampong. His family is still there, including slaves. Evidently he is the one in exile.
565 Regarding exile, he said that now, if a lower man marries a
582 higher woman, the punishment is exile for five years. This
684 is the law (adat). They might be sent to Buton, Java, etc.
602 In exile the pair is separated. All agreed that the idea was based on heaven descent. But the upper class man was impatient with this. He said that he was not too much for it. Yet I noticed that he used manurung as a synonym for "noble".

173 They all knew plenty about the old tales. They chorused
793 assent as I read. There was much talk about the gaukang.
● 838 They said they have two pinati to care for the Goa gaukang.
778 They knew the story of weighing the half necklace. They
178 said that the only other gaukang (the Hadji called them gallarang) in Goa were those of the nine bate. Karawisi has none. They said that there were many pinati, but that all are men and wear regular clothes. There were homosexuals and transvestites formerly. They said there were no pinati in the kampong, but that in other kampongs there are a few. They attend feasts. No longer is there any weighing of the necklace [one of the gaukang (regalia) which was weighed once a year to determine if it had changed weight. Loss in weight was interpreted as bad omen for the country, gain in weight forespelt welfare--Analyst]. I notice that they mark all of their statements regarding Goa by mentioning the year 1905. That seems to mark the end of most of the old practices.

[1] [i.e., Saleh, the informant at Balombaru. --Analyst]

old practices. They were interested in the story Rahim told me about Segeri, where there are lots of homosexuals. Rahim had gone to the circumcision feast there, where buffalo were killed and there was much dancing. The mass circumcision, boys sitting on buffalo to be killed, having their teeth filed, and the like brought up further questions. 000 [838] 304 881 574 231

Circumcision: Saleh said that sunat [circumcision] here is accompanied by a big feast, and that buffalo are killed and are eaten. Also, he added that teeth are still filed, every boy having them filed a bit. No longer are they filed down to the gums at the circumcision rites. They showed me examples of boys with their teeth filed even. This evidently applies only to members of the upper class. A boy holds a piece of wood clamped between his teeth and the tukang sunat [i.e., circumcision expert--Analyst] (evidently) files them down a bit with a stone. This is also done for the girls, who sunat too, but but there is no feast for them. 565 562

Regarding the pinati, Saleh said something about two kinds of them, one kind being "Hindu". I didn't get the point. At feasts of all kinds (marriage, circumcision, etc.) there are padjoge and pakarena. They go along with drum beaters. The former are prostitutes, the latter young girls. At the outside they are fourteen to fifteen years old. After that they must quit. They come from Limbung mainly. There are none in this kampong. They come in troops of ten including two leaders. They cost about f. 50. Slaves cannot afford to have them at their feasts. 527 574 548 435 567 535

I asked about the title daeng. There are many people who have this title in the kampong. Saleh said that they all had at least a little noble blood in them some place along the line. In regard to the bate, it is agreed that they all have the title gallarang which is lower than that of a high noble The bate are "high" gallarang. They were formerly mere chieftains of the commoner class. This again is the two-way division, and the mutual relationships between nobles and commoners is again evident. 554 565

In regard to service for rulers and chiefs, I was told that there is no more of this. For example, in the rice fields of the ruler the workers now get wages. Also the same holds true for the kepala kampong. Formerly he had a kasuwijang. [obligations reflecting respect for higher rank] 178 466 622 565

They all knew about the troubadors who also come to a feast. 533

574 too. Finally, we left at 10:30, although they were still dancing. As we left, a man asked to give the Sulewatang a live
576 rooster for his grandchild. It was a gift and we carried it
431 back. All in all, it was a most impressive evening, bringing
567 out the feudalism of this area and the complete lack of shame
181 regarding it. It is simply the way things are. The slaves do not rebel and perhaps don't think about it. But the psychology
[535] of this should be studied. The padjoge are selected young. The master looks over his slave girls and orders the pretty ones to go into training with the guru and the drummer. They obey. And they he rents them out for the money they bring in.

565 I forgot to say that Andi said there were many aradjang
●838 here. The wandu especially are linked in. Every kepala
793 wanua has aradjang and so do the kepala kampong frequently.
798 Each is in charge of a wandu or bissu. The latter are said to live often with men and to cook and so forth like women. It is said that they are clever and accumulate much wealth usually. I did not find out whence. They are exempt from heerendienst.

595 Regarding polygyny, there are relatively few cases known,
565 perhaps only 1 per cent have more than one wife. There are
567 few men who have three wives but none in this kampong. The radja of Soppeng has ten, and one hundred concubines. Most men have only one. Multiple wives never stay in the same house because they would fight. Nobles usually have two or three houses anyway. The Sulewatang says that this is fine because one does tend to get tired of the same house. He has several, and in each he has a corps of people, evidently slaves.

583 Regarding bride price, they said that the highest was f. 88,
565 but the nobles give much in addition. Often they give as
435 many as one hundred slaves! And this applies now too. They
178 said the lowest price is about f. 12 and a commoner might pay
567 f. 22 or f. 44. Thev said they like to get more because they were proud. The gifts are what raised the ante. The price goes to the girl's father, or if she is a slave to her master. There is no way of getting out of paying this price. Andi said that the children follow the status of the father, but I think he is wrong. But evidently, the tawa-ana is slipping, as I don't get a clear reaction to questions regarding it. They say that the kadi knows the details on this matter. As in Makas-
[684 sar, the law says that a high woman who marries a lower man
588] must be punished by five years of exile separate from her husband.

771 are 100 per cent Mohammedan, and though the Toradja here
178 were originally not Mohammedan, they become so very
182 rapidly. I am told that in the Mohammedan religion there is no pressure on anyone to join up (which I know is wrong). As for pagan elements, it is hard to explain, as the translation or translator used the term "kafir" for pagan and this means any non-Mohammedan. (Maybe there is no term for pagan in the language?) Anyway, they finally saw what I meant. They saw that the bissu concept is pagan, and admitted that the
776 Mohammedan authorities do not like it very much. As for the spirits, the younger generation knows little about them (maybe the ordinary kampong youth know more than those that I have talked with). However the old Kepala kampong knew plenty. He laughed and brightened as I read the names of them. Thus he knew pemali, as did Andi. Both knew saradasi, and also radja eroe. They knew dewata or rewata. Also knew several others. The Kepala kampong knew paeppo, but called them popo, as did the Makassarese. In all spirit cases, he made the noise they make, usually a rather piping or whistling noise. He knew parrakang and pontiana. Also
[861] tampakoro, but added that he had not seen them. In some of these cases, Andi said that the spirits are boogey men used now to scare the children, and it may be that a lot of the "spirits" in ethnography are merely that. Thus a Tibetan ethnographer in the United States might hear a lot about Santa Claus, the boogey men, the sandman, and so forth, and go back and write about the spirits of the Americans. The Kepala
838 kampong also knew the Asu panting. As for the bissu, which
793 is the name given them when they are state officials, I got
548 much here, and also later from the Sulewatang. The homo-
535 sexual ones are called wandu or tjalabai. They are all over, it is said. As related, when they are in the service of an
[759] aradjang, of Bone or of a wanua or of a smaller unit, they are called bissu. But ordinary ones do medical practice, and also hire out as dancers, etc. They go all over, for example, to Buton Island. Andi said he was ashamed of them. They know no shame. But the Kepala kampong seemed to think all this was only funny. He and Andi, laughing hard, imitated them with their swishing, their swaying, coyness, coquetry, etc. Andi said that they usually have plenty of money, and that they are smart. I gathered that they got much as ronggeng [dancing girl] and also (new information) that they act as homosexual prostitutes. Andi said that many men go for them and are willing to pay as much as a f.100 a night for them. He said a man might get so infatuated that he would sell his rice fields and everything to give to a loved wandu. He personally was revolted by this idea. He also

said something about not liking to go with a padjoge, but I am still not clear as to whether they act as prostitutes. The people here use the word ronggeng, and maybe they are the prostitutes. The tjalabai and other homosexuals (some are men proper) cook, sew, and so forth, like women. There is a chief among them (several?) called pua matoa, and evidently a big one who is chief of the bissu who is in charge of the Bone aradjang. I was told that when the Arumpone has a feast and the aradjang is involved, the bissu come from all over and dance. They are fine dancers. Then it seemed that the Kepala kampong knew all about the initiation of the wandu and about their shamanism. He held his fists up and shook them saying that they did this. This proves shamanism. I wish I could see it. The Kepala kampong knew about the "bed of state" to which the rewata descended and then entered the body of the neophyte. He knew also about the singing and dancing and about the faked death for possibly several days on the part of the neophyte. Evidently it still goes on today. He knew the term for the bed, lamin rewata. They knew nothing about Hinduists or other Indian influences. They didn't even know that their script was from India.

793 838 548 535 [791] 212 171

They say they are not fanatic but conservative. Later Denzo said that many of them were fanatic, but agreed that there were not so many as there were in Atjeh, for example.

181

Regarding sects, he said that there are many tarikat[mystic brotherhoods]. However, there are few, if any, real debates. He said that here in the kampong the only sect is Mohammedan, but that in Tumurun for example there are many tarikat. The people here know practically nothing about other religions, for example Christianity, Confucianism, etc.

795 829

I did not get very much good material on the death cult. Evidently there has been little change. They said they wash, wind the corpse, and pray, finally burying the body in a side niche grave in the evening of the same day. They said that the size of the stones depends on the wealth and status of the family. I must see the old cemetery here in the kampong. They said that women have two stones, and men only one! There seems to be no ancestral cult as such. I asked about the Lebaran, and they said one might visit the graves at other times as well. Also, they said that people go to the graves of great people with requests, as in Makassar.

764 562 178 554 782 796

As for entertainment, leisure, and art, the general impression is that the only change that has taken place has been the movie. This change has been dramatic. It is said that if the movies were free, people would go all the time and that the padjoge and other amusements would get no business. They

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Makassar 086
Celebes 061

Regarding sex, Thierens said that the extreme repression of it and the lack of open relations of a social sort between boys and girls here causes a high rate of homosexuality among boys. He said that nearly all boys are so. This may also link with the wandu custom, or at least the prostitute part of it. The boys are used to homosexual practice in youth, and like it. Also, perhaps the women, so bound by adat, are cold. Thus the homosexuals may be an attraction. The whole dead business has paralyzed these people even down to the simple sex matter. I remember the homosexual practices in Bontorio. But that was in the court, where there were girls. Maybe even there it was hard to get girls, and there may have been little in the way of social relationships. I remember that Bontorio had to get his slave girls on the sly. That is what Andi said, things must be kept in the dark.

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In regard to the Toala and the To Patuntung, I went to Soppeng on Sunday. We took one route down and another one back. It is in a rather mountainous section but Soppeng itself is a large and attractive town. On the way we could see the remoteness of many of the people here, even those on the road. In Soppeng I met Denzo, the Christian leader. He is young and good looking, much like Lethe in type and manners. His family comes from Saleier, but also from Bone. He was born in Saleier. He was baptized in 1937 although coming from a Mohammedan family. His mother is also a Christian and so is at least one sibling. He said that this resulted in some trouble with his father. By 1939, he had 800 Christians. During the Japanese time this number shot up to 2,000 and now he has about 3,000. This is the only place in the Buginese country where there are Christians. He has a church which is a part of the Protestant Church of Indonesia. But it is not a mission proper. He said that he converted from all classes, including at least one high fellow. He said that there are more women than men which did surprise me. I asked him how to approach women. He said that one must first ask the man. If the man is converted, then one can work on the woman, and usually the whole family becomes Christian. But one may not talk to the woman without the man's consent. Denzo said there was some trouble with the radja and with the nobles and with the fanatic Mohammedans. But after a while there was not so much trouble because they found out the Christians did not break up the adat and so they could not be too bad. Again we see the point that adat comes first, the Mohammedan practices being secondary.

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M [576]

M [181]

Then I asked about the To Patuntung. He said there are not so many of them. They are ten kilometers walk south of

C 563

what seemed to me to be no special order. These included ten (fourteen in all) individuals. At the end of the row sat the only Christian, and the only one without a songko, Lethe. Then there were Wadjo, Pare Pare (represented by a deputy), Laiwui, Masenrempulu (Enrekang), Bonthain, Bulukumba, and two others. To one side sat the representatives of parliament and to the other were the wanua rulers from all over. This notable lot included one old woman (Pingang ruler) who sat sneering with her feet drawn up on a chair. The engineer told me later that she was very willful and scorned younger men who might be higher than she. Thus she is somewhat like the mother in Bontorio, and I wonder, considering all the stories about the imperious Vorstin of Bone, whether women rulers here were not even more tyrannical than men. The most remarkable individual was the radja from Wadjo. He was an old man with a hadji cap and a big head cloth. He had a straggly beard. He is slightly unbalanced and it is reported that the cause of this was a sunstroke which he suffered on the way to Mecca. Although he spoke bad Malay, he stood up several times and talked on and on to the laughter and whispering and ridicule of all. He made quite a show. The Dutch did their best, but it was a sorry show for them with so much talk about merdeka. Why didn't they take my advice? I sat next to a jolly fat man, the deputy of the radja from Pare Pare, and the Aru Bila of Soppeng, a young man who had gone to Mulo school in Makassar. He knows Dutch and a bit of English. Thierens says he's smart. In talking to him he expressed the opinion that he thought the bissu were descended from the pre-Islamic religion of the area. He also told me that there were plenty of tjalabai, or non-official homosexuals in the kampong. He knew about the To Patuntung. So does the Aru Matjege, the young HPB (Hoofd Plaatselijk Bestuur, 'head of the local government') of Watampone, a graduate of OSVIA [Opleidings School voor Inlandsche Amtenaren, i.e., Training School for Native Administrators--Analyst] and the smartest man in the administration of Bone. He is somewhat cocky.

The ceremony ended and the guests went off in caravans of cars.

Bone: I went to Bukaka for the last time and pressed the Kepala kampong to tell me how many slaves there were in the kampong. He whispered, "about fifty." Andi had guessed about a hundred. The Kepala kampong said that he had slaves of his own. Both agreed that slaves would get angry if they were called such, but Andi insisted that if a slave belonged to a radja he was usually proud and willing to tell someone of his status.

541 728 642 634 [562] [793 838] 567 554

764 hundred years old and may show that Mohammedanism here
174 came in a little later than in Goa. These tombs seem to date from the period of conversion to Mohammedanism, judging from the dates, especially in Goa. In this cemetery there are also modern, ordinary graves.

The Kepala kampong said that before the war there were many fine urns on the tombs, but the Dutch controleur had taken them. Later on van Heekeren told me that the Japanese took a lot of these urns too.

346 We went to look at the old and the new mosques. Both have
174 urns on top, as in Goa. The one on the old mosque has blue and white figures on it; the one on the new mosque is brown, apparently of a solid color. I asked van Heekeren, and he said that all mosques have these urns, even in the Paloppo and Luwu areas. He says that these urns are of Chinese origin and were formerly used to hold the ashes and charred bones (i.e., some of the bones) of the cremated bodies, before Islam came in. Van Heekeren is sure that there is not very much Hindu influence here; the urn burial trait is not
[126] Hindu but merely pre-Islamic Makassarese and Buginese. I took some photographs and gave some polaroid prints to the Kepala kampong, of him and his wife in Hadji dress, with their little daughter (perhaps one and a half years old, who waves when you say dag [hello or good-bye--Analyst]).

000 While we were talking about slaves an old fellow came in and stood at the foot of the stairs mentioning something to the Kepala kampong. He was the slave of the assistant chief (seriang). They talked in a very low whisper.

838 Talking with Andi, I brought up the homosexual matter
793 again. He maintains that homosexuals are numerous here.
778 The official ones are attached to the aradjang and at the head of them is the puang matoa, chief of the bissu. When the aradjang is taken out, the bissu from many kampongs gather in Watampone and dance. I asked if every wanua has an aradjang. They do not. However, there are some kampongs that have them. The bissu handle and take out these lesser aradjang too. This also would bear research.

838 Andi went on and on about the scandalous behavior of the
548 ordinary homosexuals (tjalabai). They dress and act like women and are found everywhere. There are many in Watampone. They swish and flirt and stick rolled up handkerchiefs in their blouses to imitate breasts. Andi says that many men are crazy about them and spend lots of time and money to have sex with them. He was surprised that I had seen none. I do remember at the pasar malam that I had seen a "girl" in a bright red blouse (kabaya), and a well painted face. "She"

M 838 548 had looked boldly at me, unlike most women here. Maybe she was really a girl, but a prostitute, but on the other hand it may have been a homosexual. I know I was impressed by the frank stare and thought I noticed something a bit odd about the person.

The doctor told me that one day a soldier came in with gonorrhea and that he was on the trail of the woman carrier. So there are prostitutes here.

M 285 435 On the way back I stopped to look at an orchid fiber basket woven with a pretty design and colors. The price was f. 0.60. Andi wanted a photograph of me to keep, so I gave him one.

C 117 I left Watampone on Sunday, October 9, two weeks late. I will be able to get a ship going to Ambon on October 14 or 15 which is good, because it means I will have lost only two weeks.

Makassar: I went to the KPM and found that the Raea' sails for Ambon on the 14th or 15th. I can stay there until December 17, returning to Makassar December 20. Then I will sail to Sumbawa on December 23, arriving December 24. I still do not know of any later sailings. This means I will cut Sumbawa short, but have a full two months period in Ambon. I also went to Fort Rotterdam and talked with Rahim.

C 172 114 [171] I had a talk with van Heekeren who is delighted at the results of his trip to a neolithic site in Galumpang. He is somewhat irritated because the government will not give him more money for this research. They seem to spend most of their funds for restoring monuments. This checks with my complaint about Dutch archeology. Formerly they spent lots of time and money on Hindu-Javan remains but little on the prehistoric. Van Heekeren tells me that he has to spend a great deal of his own money. His budget is very low, but even at that he cannot get more funds. He has two other sites located along the Karama River. He said that the layers are not very thick, made up mostly of limestone and rubble. He said that these are the first neolithic sites to be worked in Indonesia. He had all of the stone materials out on a table. Included were arrow points, adzes (he said that they were the first ones found in Indonesia [??]), axes, grinding stones, and a remarkable all-stone tapa beater with grooves, which he said is like the beaters found in the Philippine Islands. There were also lots of sherds, with pretty designs. Many of these designs are similar to those used by the Toradja today, especially on cloth.